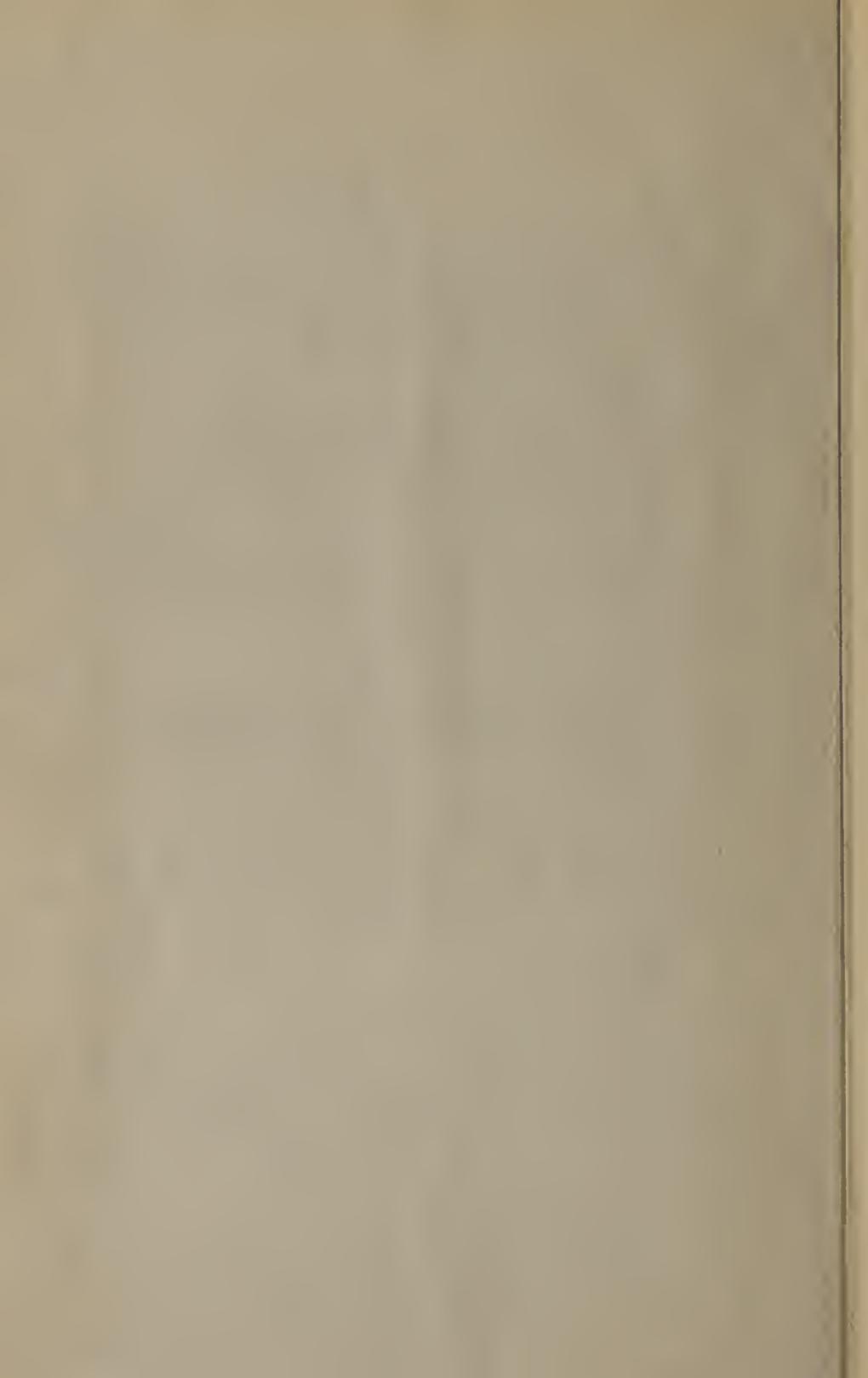




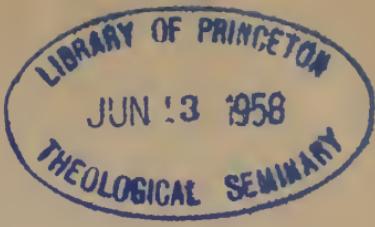
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The second edition of *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, by Dr. E. W. Blyden, is now for sale at the office of the American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C. Price \$3.00.

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AMERICA AND AFRICA.*

Psalms 67: 4.

"O let the nations be glad and sing for joy, for Thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth."

The sovereignty of God is the only source of confidence and praise. Fate, chance, the action and reaction of the forces of nature, the confused struggle of men to accomplish each his own purpose, and the presence and influence of spiritual principalities and powers, the more they are considered, increase anxiety and despair. "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of the isles be glad thereof." He rules and overrules; nothing can occur amiss: all things shall accomplish His gracious purposes.

God's sovereignty is recognized in the accomplishment of salvation. The opposition of the devil is in vain. "Against the holy child Jesus, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together," but could do only "whatsoever His hand and His counsel determined before to be done." He, as the Lord over all, defends His church, and leads her to certain victory and universality, notwithstanding all possible combinations for her persecution and annihilation. In His daily providence, "He thinks upon" each, even "the poor and needy." "He causeth all things to work together for good to them that love God." He numbers their hairs, will not permit their feet to slide, answers their prayers, and enriches them with all temporal and spiritual good. "No one is able to pluck them out of His hand." All this is taught in the text, and calls forth songs of praise and confidence even in the darkest hour. Yet special reference is here made to God's sovereignty over nations. In other passages, He is said to determine their rise, peculiar characteristics, bounds and powers, for the sake of His church, for her development, training, enlightenment, reproof, chast-

* The Annual Discourse delivered at the Seventy-first Anniversary of THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, Washington, D. C., January 15, 1888, by the Rev. J. Aspinwall Hodge, D. D., Published by request of the Society.

ening, and final increase, until she shall include and bless all nations. All are embraced in the covenant with Abraham, and shall compose that innumerable multitude which shall praise Christ, as King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

Our text, however, like many in the Psalms, presents, not the God of Providence, but the Sovereign Ruler, who shall govern and judge the nations upon earth. Whatever may be their religions, true or false; their gods, the one living and true, or many imaginary, material or devilish; their forms of government, their ethics, their policy and purpose, "He that sitteth in the heavens" is their only law-giver; their sole executive, who proclaims His decrees and enforces their execution; and He is the only judge who can expound His law and justify or condemn. In the church, in the wilderness and in Judea, there was a mercy seat, sprinkled with blood by the High Priest. The kingdom of heaven, established on earth, was "Glory to God in the highest and good will toward men," a proclamation of pardon to every creature. And in the new paradise of God, there will be a rainbow round about the throne, on which is seated the Lamb that had been slain. But the throne set over nations is of dominion and of justice. "The Lord reigns." "Thou shalt govern the nations." "Thou shalt judge the people." His sceptre is "a rod of iron." "He is clothed with majesty." "With righteousness shall He judge the world, and the people with equity." For individuals, both righteous and wicked, there will be a judgment at the last day. Throughout all their probation God deals with them in mercy, by His goodness He leads them to repentance, and by affliction He warns them to seek Him early. But for nations, there is no future retribution. He governs and judges them now. He often delays the final and full execution, nevertheless His every act toward nations is according to equity and justice. "Clouds and darkness are round about Him," the emblems of His mysterious and portentous majesty and power. "Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne." Mercy finds no place here. The laws are right and inflexible, and "every transgression and disobedience receives a just recompence of reward." "Righteousness," not autocratic caprice, nor changing policies, but conformity to eternal essential right, derived from the nature and character of God. "The Judge of all the earth will do right." His law or will, however made known to nations, is determined by this principle. All His providential ruling and overruling, restraining and permitting, is according to righteousness. "And judgment," the administration of justice. Might does not make right to individuals nor to nations. These are not at liberty to form

their own policies at pleasure, to maintain peace, to inaugurate war, to subjugate others, or to appropriate their territories—restrained only by the power of other nations, singly or combined. Every act is either in accordance with or in violation of God's law. He holds each nation to a strict account, and He gives to each according to its deeds. "Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne."

It may be said that this is at variance with the usual conception of God. There is a tendency to unduly magnify the love of God, and to ignore or deny His righteousness and justice. Yet these are divine attributes as plainly revealed and as essential. Indeed, mercy itself cannot be exercised until God finds a way in which He can be just and justify the ungodly. Christ must 'fulfill all righteousness,' and suffer the full condemnation for sin, before His gospel of pardon and peace can be preached. "God is love," of infinite pity, mercy, and grace, but only in Christ, not out of Christ; in the tabernacle and at the cross, not at Sinai nor before the white throne. Nature teaches His eternal power and godhead. Its laws are inflexible and pitiless in their execution. He who breaks them must suffer the consequences. Fire will not cease to burn when millions of moths fly into it. The avalanche does not turn aside because men build their chalets in its proper path. No account is made of character or motive. The plague slays the self-denying nurses and doctors, as well as the thieves who would rob the dead and dying. In God's dominion over nations are displayed His sovereignty and righteous justice. Even in human governments we have only legislative, judicial, and executive departments, which make, define, and administer law. It is true that a pardoning power is given to the executive, but only because State law is defective, and in its application the innocent sometimes suffer and the guilty receive too heavy a penalty. But in divine law there is no defect, and there can be no mistake in its execution. "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." In governors we do not look for nor desire tenderness or pliability, but we must have wisdom, stability of principles, persistency to do rightly and justly without fear or favor. It is because the immutable "Lord reigneth, that the earth rejoices and the multitude of the isles is glad thereof."

This doctrine is verified in all history. The flood, the doom of Sodom, the plagues of Egypt, the wandering in the wilderness, the destruction of the Canaanites, were because the "men had corrupted their way" and "the cup of their iniquity was full." Balaam, as he took up his parable, and Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, as they uttered woes on the nations, foretold their fate as determined by their rebellions against God, or by their mutual outrages, regarded as sins,

transgressions of God's law and will. He will bless the nations which serve Him, but the rebellious will He destroy. History can be interpreted in no other way. If, in modern times, this principle seems not to be applicable, it is only because the end is not yet.

Bearing in mind the conclusion at which we have arrived, let us consider one chapter of our national history. We differ from all other nations in the fact that, while we are, as to origin and permanent characteristics, Anglo Saxons, in our veins flows the blood of all civilized nations. Our vast portals stand wide open, and immigration, unexampled in history, flows into them from all quarters. We welcome all, except the Chinese, to participation in our vast territories, our free institutions, wonderful opportunities, all rights and privileges, in our national life, to complete and perpetual identification. This is not a Siberia to which criminals are transported, nor as formally an asylum to which the religiously oppressed and persecuted may flee. Nor is it a Mecca or a Jerusalem to which multitudes and tribes from time to time go up. It is the home of liberty, where men dwell in unity as one family, whose plenty attracts all men. They come voluntarily in ever increasing numbers, each to claim the rich inheritance offered to all. Here nationalities soon blend and become one people, as streams from distant mountains flow into one sea. There are, however, two notable exceptions. There are two races which had no desire to come into our midst, and cannot depart, who live among us, and are as isolated from each other and from the American people as they were two hundred years ago—the Indian and the Negro.

The Indians, once the untrammelled possessors of all this fair land, have been deceived by baubles, pressed from the coast, step by step, beyond the great river, to the far West, confined within reservations until these are desired by others, held under military control, cheated by Government agents, taught unnatural vices, regarded with contempt, treaties and promises to them broken almost as soon as made, their remonstrances disregarded, when exasperated by intollerable wrongs, their retaliations are visited by new humiliation, robbery, and decimations. No historian has ventured to recount their wrongs. No advocate has attempted to itemize their charges and claims against the nation. No American, through very shame and fear, dare read such documents. Yet every deed of violence has been faithfully recorded and laid before infinite justice. When "the Lord maketh inquisition for blood He remembereth them. He forgetteth not the cry of the humble." "For the Lord God of recompenses shall surely requite."

If we gladly turn from these sad pages of our national crimes, it

is only to read another chapter, whose record is still blacker, and whose threatenings are more imminent. I have no intention to detail the crimes and horrors of the slave trade; nor the possible or real wrongs of slavery; nor to inquire who tempted our nation, or whether willingly or unwillingly we received and held Africa's stolen children. We have to do with terrible and undisputed facts. In our colonial history, and during our national existence, until 1808, we encouraged and legalized the African slave trade, and winked at its continuance for many years thereafter. Before 1776 we received over 300,000 Negroes from Africa. When we ceased formally to recognize the trade, we held 1,190,000 slaves. At the breaking out of the late civil war, these had increased, by importation and birth, to 4,000,000. And at present there are 8,000,000 Negroes within our borders. It does not concern us to inquire as to England's guilt in this matter. We legalized, encouraged, and profited by this criminal traffic, and have held in involuntary servitude millions of our fellow men. Few, if any, will attempt to justify the means by which they have been procured, nor to deny that the sin lies at our door. But they are here. For 250 years they have been under our laws, civilization, religious ordinances and personal direction and influence, and what has been the result? Their continued isolation is no wrong to them. It is not the result merely of antagonism, prejudice, or difference of condition, but of loyalty to race. For reasons, not clearly understood by us, God has divided men into races, and through all time He has kept these great families distinct. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." They may all worship Him, recognize brotherhood, adopt each other's languages, customs, civilization, and occupy together the same territory, but they must remain distinct. Amalgamation of the three great races is not God's will, and has never received any mark of His approbation. Loyalty to race, which holds them apart, is a divinely implanted instinct. Often other means have been used to accomplish the same end. The covenant with Abraham, as understood by his seed, separated them from the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and the Babylonians, during centuries of the closest associations, and preserves them to-day, in all the lands whither they are scattered, a distinct people. Europeans in this land quickly lose their identity, and are merged into our American nation. But the African race must and ought to remain distinct, however they may rise from their present degradation, or demonstrate their ability in every department of life. They have, as a race, a part to perform in the history of the world, a work which God has reserved for them, and which He is beginning to unfold. They must remain a separate people.

What has our supervision of 250 years done for this race? They have received, after a sort, our language. They have learned methods of toil and unquestioning obedience. But physically they are not improved. Intellectually there was no advance until the emancipation, save in a very few individuals, who by some means obtained an education, contrary to our laws; and now there are 73 per cent. of the Negroes who can neither read nor write. These 73 per cent know little more than their forefathers when stolen from dark Africa. It cannot be said that they are incapable. The severity of the laws found necessary to hold them in ignorance, their present thirst for knowledge, the avidity with which they embrace every opportunity, and the results already attained through very meagre means, all testify to the contrary. Socially and morally the natives of the "dark continent" will compare favorably with them, as to mode of living, respect to rights of property, truthfulness, the inviolability of family ties, and as to purity. The vices and crimes usually associated with the Negroes are not peculiar to that race. If they characterize them in this land, it is chiefly because of the peculiar institution and methods under which they have been here trained. They retained much of their African superstitions, and have received very little of our holy religion. There are notable exceptions, but as a race these millions are to-day devoid of real Christianity. What has our nation done for them? I speak not of charity, though their condition is pitiable and their needs are great. Their past sufferings and present degradation do appeal powerfully to every heart. Nor do I speak of recompense, though their wrongs be many, aggravated and long continued. It may be well to remember that we are in their debt, that our present policy is not calculated to repay past sufferings and labor, and that there are some injuries for which there can be no compensation. But this is not a case for personal pity, nor for the adjustment of accounts between parties. Contrary to God's law, we constituted ourselves proprietors of this race, and assumed the responsibility of their discipline. And God holds us to an account for our self-appointed task. What have we done for them? Very little of good, and much of evil.

It may be said, we have emancipated them. But the ceasing to do evil, does not undo the evil already done. The freeing of slaves does not justify the capture, transportation, enforced labor, and trials of their forefathers through several generations. Emancipation was a national act, but it was not from love for the slaves, nor desire to do them justice. It was a military necessity and a war measure of the North, and regarded as an outrage and theft by the South. All persons in this land and in others trem-

bled at what might be, and probably would be, the terrible results. It was made without any preparation of the slaves, and when it seemed to be a proclamation of new privations, sufferings and starvation, to a race already burdened with wrongs and an incentive to new crimes. In a moment 4,000,000 slaves, who had been trained to absolute dependence, and provided for, as if helpless children, with each necessity of life, were thrown upon their own resources, without lands, shelter, food, money, or even clothes. No other race has been called to meet such a crisis. That crimes innumerable and fearful were not committed, that famine and pestilence did not consume them, is to the credit of the despised Negro, who so calmly and successfully stood the terrible test. Egypt let Israel go free from dire necessity, under the lash of the ten plagues. And we, with as little credit, under the scourge of war, emancipated the Negroes.

We have enfranchised them, made them full American citizens, and even eligible to office. We need not inquire how far this is merely a legal fiction; if they be really treated as our fellow citizens; and if they be permitted to exercise the rights thus granted. It is notorious that the ballot was placed in their hands, not for their interests, but to accomplish certain political ends. Nationally it was a dangerous, a suicidal act, and to this race a grievous injury. For rights involve responsibilities—to give sovereignty to those who know nothing of government—to place the ballot in the hands of those who are absolutely ignorant of the interests of our country, the principles of parties, the character of candidates, who cannot even read the names of those for whom they vote—to call them to legislate, execute and judge—is not only a folly, almost inconceivable in an enlightened nation, but also the criminal imposing of duties, the attempt to perform which, or the neglect of which, would be a sin against the nation and against God.

We are educating them. The duties of citizenship involve the claim for education. Adoption gives a child the right to demand the schooling necessary to qualify him for his new station. These cannot be divorced. Education is a prime necessity and an indisputable right. Since the emancipation \$20,000,000 have been contributed for the education of the freedmen, but what is that among so many, and in 25 years? It has brought only a few broken rays into their Egyptian darkness. And this sum has been given by individuals, by benevolent associations and by the church of God. The nation has done nothing for this race as such. It may be said that the several States should attend to the education of their own people. But emancipation, was a national act, whether right or wrong, and it impoverished the Southern States, who cannot be required, in

addition to this loss, to educate the Negroes as citizens, to enjoy privileges pledged by the nation, and which these States do not believe should be granted. Pleas and petitions have been offered in their behalf. In their extreme poverty they did not ask for lands nor bread, but they have pressed their prayers and demands for education. And for 25 years our nation has made no more response than the dumb idols of Africa.

Their case seems well nigh desperate. The Israelites in Egypt were required to furnish the full tale of bricks, while the necessary straw was withheld. And these freedmen are burdened with new responsibilities, to develop their acquired manhood, to rise above the imposed degradation of centuries, to establish homes, schools and churches, to become worthy citizens, and to perform the special work given to their race; while almost everything necessary to this Herculean task is denied them. Their environment also is antagonistic, as may be better understood than described. Ishmael and Isaac, though circumcised as fellow heirs of the same covenant, could not dwell as equals in the same house. Sarah was cruel in her method, and Hagar was tearful, but Ishmael could attain unto the blessing promised only by being sent forth. And the seed of the bond woman here is coming to the conclusion that it cannot work out its destiny, and obtain its inheritance in the midst of the seed of the free woman. Notwithstanding all legal fictions, national promises and moral obligations, these two cannot live together as equals. There is no such case in all history. An unrighteous antagonism between the races, an ignoble history, an unjust prejudice, as well as a growing self-respect, an awakening ambition, and a loyalty to race, are causing the blacks to turn from a government indifferent, alike to the claims of divine justice, and to their pleas for security in the exercise of their rights and for training for their citizenship. They are bethinking themselves of the land of their fathers, of the continent given by God to their race, and where their destiny is to be accomplished. This conviction is not at present very general. Nor could it be expected. Patient endurance of wrong has been highly developed by slavery. They have not yet given up faith and hope in the Government. Personally, they have no fatherland, save this in which they are strangers. As a race they can recall no pleasant memories of Africa, or of the middle passage over that track, which, when the sea gives up her dead, will be in greater commotion than any other portion of the secret keeping deep. They have scarcely heard of the Colonization Society, or of Liberia, the Christian Republic of Negroes, whose standing among the Nations is acknowledged, whose fascinating history, fertile lands, free institutions, equal

opportunities and unclouded future invite them, where all questions of personal development and race loyalty and work are finding easy and satisfactory solutions. But this knowledge is dawning upon them, and will produce its effects. Already a new demand is heard. For several years they have, unprompted by this Society, sent to our Government petitions, yearly increasing in number and more numerously signed by colored men, praying to be sent to the land of their fathers. Let me interpret them.—We Negroes are in distress. We are burdened with responsibilities which are unendurable in our present condition. Our American citizenship is, by your indifference and inaction, a sham. Our personal and race obligations cannot be attempted. Our past and present wrongs are crying to God for justice. The storms of vengeance are gathering. Our presence is endangering the peace and integrity of your nation. Our natural increase, at the rate of 500 per day, 182,500 a year, doubling our numbers in 20 years, is threatening to push you overboard and swamp your Ship of State. Our surplus of population is more alarming than the increasing surplus in your treasury. Already we more than outnumber you in several States. Even now there is a black belt in your midst which we are filling, and from which, because of us, you are rapidly and necessarily departing. With you we cannot form one people, neither can our races dwell together on an equality. You do not want us here. You will do nothing for our relief in this land. Send us back to Africa to do our divinely appointed work. We do not ask for a general and enforced exodus of our race, but that you send those who are now willing to go, and whose education and religious character will not endanger but strengthen the Republic of the lone star, which you have founded. Start the emigration by government aid. And before long our people will leave you to the undisturbed possession of this land, and find their own way across the ocean to work out the redemption of dark Africa.—Many such petitions were presented last year. They were referred to appropriate committees, which reported adversely, and nothing further was done. Oh, my country in this thou art not like Cyrus, King of Persia! Thou art more, rebellious than Pharaoh of Egypt!

Thus far we have been considering the sovereignty of God, as He makes known His law to nations in the essential principles of right and wrong. We must, for a few moments, notice His sovereignty as revealed in the unfolding of His purposes. The separate acts of divine providence frequently are utterly inscrutable, and "His ways past finding out." Considered together, they may often sorely try the faith of an Abraham or a David. At times it is wise to refrain from all action "less haply we be found even to fight against God."

But as we look through the ages there is no obscurity. There is a manifest unity, which is sometimes called the science of history. There is an order in all events, a definite plan gradually unfolded. Nations appear upon the stage, perform their parts and pass off. Some are very transitory. Others, like Israel, are more permanent. None can doubt God's design in all Jewish history. We know for what purpose Pharoah and the Egyptians were raised up. Syria, Babylon, Macedonia and Rome, had each its own service to perform. So in more modern times. During the dark ages this continent, for manifest reasons, was hidden from the world. When the time drew near, and Catholic nations sought new possessions, they were one after another turned aside to the Islands, to Mexico and South America. This land was reserved for Protestant Anglo-Saxons, well taught in the truth and disciplined by severe persecutions; in order that civil and religious liberty might here flourish, far removed from the continued strifes of other nations and from the claims of anti-christ and of the false prophet; that we might demonstrate the theory of free institutions, and national greatness and prosperity, and become the missionary of the Gospel to all lands.

God's designs concerning Africa have long been a hidden mystery. Situated in the centre of the Eastern hemisphere, within easy reach of the highest civilizations of the world, its immense proportions have been long known, and the details of its outlines have been often explored. But it has, through all centuries, remained a dark, impenetrable continent. Its territory, resources and inhabitants were utterly unknown. To all nations and persons God has said, ye shall not enter here for any purpose. At its portals, disease and death have kept as strict guard, as the angel with the flaming sword at the closed gate of Eden. Science, commerce and religion have sailed round its borders, have touched here and there on its coasts, but have been unable to overleap the barriers. It has remained the only inaccessible land on the face of the earth, except the probably bleak and useless North Pole. Yet like the Congo, whose waters force their way for 300 miles into the ocean, there has been a mighty and perpetual stream of Africa's enslaved children poured into the sea of nations. Whatever may have been man's guilt in this matter, it has been permitted, and therefore forms an important part of God's plan concerning Africa. God meant it for good, when Joseph's brethren sold him. The captivity in Egypt was to train a nation, and in Babylon to wean it from heathenism. And for some purpose, God has directed this stream to our coast, and has placed these Negroes under our tutelage. For 225 years, with no interruption, the school term had continued. When suddenly, without any effort on the part of the pupils, and against the wishes and efforts of their masters,

there was a change. To the training in the house and in the field were added new courses. They were admitted to every avocation of civilized life, to learn all mechanical, commercial and clerical labor. They were pressed into schools, primary, graded, academic, scientific, collegiate and professional. Religious teachers flocked to instruct them in Christianity. They were made citizens, and were called to take part in making and administrating laws. Already twenty five years have been allotted to this higher education. And wherefore? Can there be a doubt? If so, it vanishes as we look at Africa. A sudden change has also there taken place. That continent so long closed has been thrown open to the gaze of the world. Livingstone and Stanley, those pioneers of religion and science, have astonished all with their glowing reports of its wonderful character and resources. Men of learning are eager for research, commerce is fluttering to hear off the rich produce. European nations have combined to form and maintain a free Congo State in the vast interior, and to secure prosperity by series of forts and by the navigation of its mighty streams. And the church has arisen with new zeal to evangelize the millions of these newly-discovered tribes. Still, over every portal may be read the divine decree: "Africa is for Africans." "No admittance for permanent residence, save to the Negro race." "The civilization and evangelization of this continent must be by her own children." Where are the workmen for this arduous and glorious undertaking? In the fields, shops, schools, seminaries and civil offices of America. 8,000,000 of them. They have been, unconsciously, under training for 250 years for this very service. Where are the means for their transportation? There is an immense balance due them for past services, wrongs and sufferings. The nation is perplexed with the increasing surplus in its coffers. Where shall they begin the work? In Liberia, a Christian Negro Republic, already established in Africa, where the blacks have demonstrated their ability to govern themselves, to establish and maintain educational, religious and governmental institutions, to gain the recognition of civilized nations, the respect and confidence of heathen tribes, and to begin the redemption of Africa. No student of history can doubt that this is the natural and necessary course of events, the unfolding of God's plan. This is God's will and commandment to our nation, as plainly made known as was the law uttered from Sinai. His purpose cannot be changed. The designed course of His government of nations cannot be turned aside. He speaks in words which cannot be misunderstood—"Let my people go forth, to serve in their own land, in the work which I appointed them." To hesitate is rebellion. "Thou shalt judge the people righteously and govern the nations upon earth." "This is the Lord's doing and marvelous in our eyes."

CIVILIZATION IN CENTRAL SOUDAN.

Liberia has the natural route to the interior (Niger) regions and people thus graphically sketched by the distinguished African traveler, Mr. Joseph Thomson, in *Harper's Magazine* for July:—

As we approach the town of Wurnu, and when least expected, a party of horsemen, in fierce Bedouin-like array, will spring from behind some cliff, or out of an unseen hollow, and with marrow-piercing war-cries and unearthly screams, spears levelled, or swords uplifted, bear down upon us like a whirlwind, amid clouds of dust, apparently bent on annihilating or sending to Gehenna such infidels as ourselves. But even though you feel a decided want of backbone, a dozen spears, as it were, already quivering in your bodies, and your heads are not worth the purchase, pray do not run away, nor even blench for one moment. Assume an indifferent expression, as if being chopped up or spitted on spears was a daily experience. If you can smile in the emergency, all the better, for just as we seem to feel the hot breath of their horses on our cheeks, and in a bewildered sort of way realize the disagreeable proximity of several spears, another shout will fill the air, the galloping horses, as if by magic, will stand stock-still, enveloping us in a cloud of dust, and by the cordial shouts of welcome and hearty salams we shall find a most pleasant assurance that all this fiendish display is intended as an honorable welcome to their town. Barely shall we have realized that this is the way they do these things in central Soudan, and that instead of being among foes we are among friends, when the horsemen are off again, seemingly bent once more on annihilating an unseen enemy.

Let us wait a minute, and from behind the gateway we shall hear the notes of native music, not such as would delight us at home, but yet harmonizing with our surroundings, and not without a certain wild, weird charm of its own. Some of you may have heard similar shrill melancholy strains in the streets of Cairo in festival processions, or still more appropriately in Arab camps. Presently, however, the music will cease to monopolize your attention, as the musicians themselves advance with their huge trumpets six feet long, their pipes and hour-glass-shaped tomtoms, heralding the approach of a Fillani nobleman. Following at no great distance comes the respected magnate, voluminously clothed, and mounted on a prancing fiery-eyed horse, one mass of rich trappings, which jingle and rustle at its every step. This is the messenger sent out to bid us welcome by the Sultan—a task which he will perform with that dignified bearing and inborn grace which seem somehow specially characteristic of Mohammedan

races. This ceremony over, the horsemen will once more engage in mimic battle, showing their modes of fighting, and the skill with which they wield their weapons and manage their horse. Thus escorted, we shall be expected to fall into procession, and headed by a court singer, who improvises a chant in our honor, which is accompanied by the pipes, and accentuated by the stentorian notes of the trumpets and the unmusical notes of the tomtoms, we shall be conducted through wondering but respectable crowds to the quarters specially provided for us in the town.

Let us imagine that this quaint and interesting ceremony is over, and that we are safely housed, that we have listened to a second messenger from the Sultan, and looked over the abundance of good things sent for our immediate entertainment, and finally have been left alone to refresh ourselves and rest after the excessive fatigues of our journey.

Toward the cool of the evening we can afford to wander forth once more, and seek new sights and scenes to gratify our lively curiosity. We must be prepared to be followed by crowds of the lower classes, more eager to see us than even we can be to see them. But observe how respectful they are, and how little of barbarous vulgarity they have in their examination of us as compared with the pagan tribes we have hitherto passed through on our journey.

Leaving for another occasion the examination of the inside of their houses—their penetralia—let us wander through the town. Long dead-walls of glazing red clay, suggesting prisons, are varied by the occurrence here and there of a square tower-like building, having an ordinary door-way to the street. From the roofs of these towers project long clay pipes to drain off the water from the flat-roofed building, a conical-roofed erection takes its place, and in place of the ordinary European-like door-way, characteristic of all the square buildings, a horse-shoe shaped entrance performs the same duty. Mats or fences of sorghum stalks replace not infrequently the massive mud walls which enclose the compounds of the wealthy. These are all the architectural features which meet the inquiring gaze of the traveler.

Having thus little to note in the houses, we must turn to other objects for points of interest. And truly there is no lack. In shady nooks sit picturesque groups of natives in all kinds of combinations discussing the news of the day, haggling over a purchase, or busily engaged in embroidery or making up of gowns or trousers. This trade, we may note, is here entirely in the hands of men, who ply the needle with much skill. Farther on we meet a courtier gorgeously dressed, looking in his voluminous garments a very Falstaff in bulk,

as he goes ambling past on his still more richly decorated horse, bent on a little exercise in the cool of the evening. Of the personal appearance of this aristocrat I shall not now speak, but we may take notice of the horse. By good luck here happens to be one standing waiting to be mounted, so we can more conveniently examine steed and trappings in detail. The animal before us is a very fair specimen of a Soudanese horse. It is somewhat lanky, with little beauty of line, but it is fiery-eyed, and its tail and main, being uncut, give it a somewhat wild appearance. Soudanese horses are generally very vicious and difficult to manage, stallions alone being used for riding stop within their own length when in full gallop, to turn with equal purposes. They are specially trained for sudden forward charges, to rapidity, and away like the windout of harm's way. At other times the favorite mode of progression is by making the horse's left legs simultaneously alternate with those of the right side, a method of traveling which is very pleasant and easy. The riders are fond of making their horses prance and plunge about with fierce and fiery action. There is nothing which the central Soudanese is so proud of as his horse, and nothing to which he devotes more time and attention than its appearance and trappings. The head-gear is almost one mass of brass-plated ornaments, little bells, and a thousand tassels and flaps of leather in yellow, light blue, or dark red. The beautifully plated reins would almost hold an elephant for strength, while the bits are perfect instruments of torture.

In looking round we note the scrupulous cleanliness of everything—the well-swept yard, the well-washed earthenware, cooking pots and other kitchen utensils, the daintily carved calabashes for milk, water and a variety of purposes. Here stands part of a tree hollowed into a mortar for pounding certain grains, and there a bedded coarse-grained stone, on which the family meal is ground. Everywhere are to be observed evidences of the thrift and industry which distinguish the Soudanese household. Unlike the domestic establishments of most Mohammedan parts, there is no pampered laziness or voluptuous ease. Wife and slave alike are busily engaged in household duties, or work which will bring money to the workers. Here is cotton being teased and cleaned, then with spindle and wheel turned into thread. Food simmers or boils on the fire in the various savory, if oily, dishes for which the Haussa women are famous. We note that no heavy or unwomanly tasks are laid upon the females. In the store-rooms and master's apartments are to be seen a great variety of objects heaped together or lying about without any attempt at order. Here may be found the owner's weapons of war—many double-edged swords, with

scabbards handsomeiy ornamented with leather and brass, and suspended by elaborate and betasselled silk ropes, daggers intended to be attached to the wrist by a leather band—the crossed-shaped, when thus carried, almost lying in the palm of the hand—beautiful long iron spears, neatly and prettily inlaid with brass bands, and generally barbed; revolvers and pistols of the most obselete types, as well as flint-lock guns which look as if they would be as dangerous to the user as they could possibly be to an enemy. Such are the offensive weapons. But there are also to be seen war dresses of enormously thick quilts, intended especially as a protection against poisoned arrows. The warrior, when encased in these cumbersome garments, looks the most unwieldy and barrel-like of African Falstaffs, as he can neither mount his horse nor dismount without assistance, and if unhorsed he is perfectly helpless. Many of the wealthy chiefs have also very beautiful coats of chain armor, with head-gear to match, which are probably of old Moorish workmanship, are said by the natives to be as old as David, and are accordingly valued at a great price.

Beside the objects which savor of war, numbers of other things lying about in artistic disorder attract attention. Brass vessels are the most conspicuous, and indicate a manipulative skill and an artistic taste which we would certainly not expect in such a country. The chief types of native work are large circular salvers or trays, globular vessels, others carafe-like in form, urns resembling coffee-pots. They are all elaborately ornamented, either in repousse or chased in the intricate manner which characterizes Moorish art. Many of the designs are most beautiful, and worked out with patient care. In the brass-worker's art, as in so many other things, the influence of north African ideas is easily traceable, though how they have come to take such fixed root in the Soudan it would be difficult to say. Our wonder at the quaint and effective work is enhanced on learning that all these vessels are hammered out of brass rods, each two feet long and of the thickness of telegraph wire, in which form it reaches these parts from Europe.

The specimens of pottery which we see lying about exhibit a wonderful skill in that industry, considering that as yet they have not adopted the potter's wheel. The most extraordinary objects, however, which attracted our attention are the skin vessels for holding oil. In some way or other they are moulded into the required forms out of raw hide, and so constructed in a single piece as hardly to show the slightest trace of a joint. They are not sewed, but the two edges of the skin are made to adhere most firmly by some means. The

outer aspect is ornamented in black, white, and light brown, with strips of skin having those colors. The hair is left on except on the neck. They are ingeniously fitted with cups or lids to keep out any foreign matter. Only oil or grain is kept in them, as water softens the un-tanned skin. In some cases they are clearly intended more for ornament than use, as frequently four smaller vessels, of the same pattern, are attached to the chief one with the most happy and artistic effect.

One thing which we cannot fail to notice, in looking round a Wurnu household of the "upper ten," is that the people have largely acquired aesthetic tastes, and delight to surround themselves with articles which please the eye, as well as with those which are merely useful, and to minister to this taste a score of industries have sprung up.

From The Spirit of Missions.

VISITATIONS IN LIBERIA BY BISHOP FERGUSON.

Bishop Ferguson writes an extended account of a visitation of several stations in his jurisdiction. The Bishop left home on the 14th of November for a visit to Montserrado County, and after stopping a day at Monrovia, reached Cape Mount on the morning of the 18th. At Cape Mount, as reported in the last number of this magazine, he confirmed eleven persons. On the 23d of November the Bishop visited Clay-Ashland, the station of the Rev. Mr. Blackridge, and while there examined the school, eighteen pupils being present, and reports that the scholars did well, considering the short time that the school has been in operation. From Clay-Ashland he went to Caldwell, where the Rev. J. T. Gibson had arranged for a service in the little thatched chapel. Here he baptized two children, confirmed two adult persons, and administered the Holy Communion.

The Bishop then continues to say: "On November 25th I attended an early morning service in Trinity Memorial Church, Monrovia. There were five clergymen present, including the Rev. J. B. Williams, who then preached his first sermon in Liberia from the text, 'Ye are the light of the world,' etc. I think he made a favorable impression on the minds of all present. I observed an agreeable change as soon as I entered the edifice. The rough stones that had been temporarily laid for the floor had been removed, and smooth flagstones, ordered from Germany, put down instead. The credit for this improvement is due to the Ladies' Church Aid Society, through whom the necessary funds were raised.

"The First Sunday in Advent was also spent in the capital. An early service was held in Trinity Memorial Church at seven o'clock,

conducted by the pastor. At 10.30 A. M. I preached, confirmed four candidates, after addressing them, and celebrated the Holy Communion. The full congregation present was largely made up of visitors from the different denominations in the city. In the afternoon I visited the Sunday-school. The superintendent, Mr. H. W. Travis, and a goodly number of teachers, were present. I questioned the scholars on the festivals and fasts of the Church, and was glad to find some of them well posted on those subjects. I am always anxious to note the status of the Sunday-schools in our parishes. A third service was held at night, in which all the clergy present took part. The Rev. G. W. Gibson preached from the text, 'Revive thy work, O Lord.'

"On Monday, November 28th, I visited Crozerville Station in company with the Rev. Messrs. Moort and J. T. Gibson, reaching there in the evening, after five-and-a-half hours' journey on the river, and one-and-a-half hours overland. The first thing that attracted attention—and a most cheerful sight it was too—was the church building, which is in course of erection. The entire frame-work was completed, and the sides were being shut in with corrugated iron. It is larger than the old edifice was, and will be far superior to it in every respect. The cost of the work, as far as it had gone, was \$556, all of which was paid from funds raised at home, except a balance of eighty-six dollars, which was then due. A careful estimate showed that it would require \$769 to complete the house, not taking pews into the account. I shall be glad if they can be helped, for they deserve it. Some of our Church folk who fold their arms and cry for help would do well to visit Crozerville. The ladies who are doing nothing to help the cause ought to see the beautiful quilt made by some of the sisters of that parish to help build their church.

"On the following day I convened the vestrymen and other male members, and had matters discussed appertaining to the interest of the parish. Divine service was next held in the pastor's parlor, which was entirely too small for the congregation that assembled. Each of the clergymen present took part in the service. I preached on the subject of Christian love, confirmed two candidates, presented by the Rev. Edward Hunte, pastor, and celebrated the Holy Communion.

"On Wednesday, November 30th, leaving Crozerville at noon, and descending the river which bears the name of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, we landed at Mr. Decoursey's, a communicant of the Church in New York settlement. He is one of the most energetic and successful planters on the river. We were conducted into a neat little brick chapel, finished down to the very pews and painting. The

good brother has built this entirely at his own expense for the use of his family and laborers, and all others who may wish to attend it. He has a number of native boys around him, whom he wishes to be specially benefited. He expressed a desire for me to consecrate the chapel as soon as the necessary papers, transferring the property to the Church, are prepared. I hope then to make arrangements for regular services there, which may be attended by some of our scattered sheep in other settlements. This good deed of Mr. Decoursey, like that of Mr. Coleman and others in Clay-Ashland, is an encouraging indication that our leading citizens are beginning to comprehend their responsibility.

"On Thursday, December 1st, after spending the previous night at the Rev. J. T. Gibson's residence, in Caldwell, I started early for Gardnerville, a village of Congoes in the rear of that settlement. We had at one time several communicants out there, but the work was discontinued, and the number has been reduced to two or three.

"On our return to Caldwell, I examined the brick walls of the old school-house, and decided to turn the same into a neat little chapel, if we can raise the means for the purpose. The work here might then be placed in charge of the Rev. J. T. Gibson.

"On Friday, December 2^d, I examined Trinity parish school, Monrovia, taught by Mrs. Sarah H. Blyden. The total number of pupils on the roll was twenty-five; twenty-three were present, of whom four were aborigines. Recitations were made in the usual English study for beginners, and some of the children did well. The school is held in the vestry-room of the church, which is entirely too small for the purpose. It is to be hoped that the school-house will soon be repaired. Immediately after the examination of the school, I took a canoe jaunt to what was once known as (Kbehkbeh) Station, in company with the Rev. Messrs. G. W. Gibson and Moort. Mr. Witherspoon, an enterprising Liberian farmer and trader, who lives in that section, is anxious that we should resume work there. He has considerable influence among the natives. At his call, they assisted him in building a school-house for the benefit of their children some time ago; but his efforts to secure a teacher have been fruitless. He offers to give us a deed for the land on which the house stands, if we will occupy the field. (Kbehkbeh) is a heathen village containing about fifteen huts. Three or four other villages are said to be within easy reach, besides a Congo settlement. I have requested the Rev. G. W. Gibson to make further inspection of the locality, with a view to starting the work again if all prove favorable. Thus we are to recover lost ground, and to continue advancing to new fields, until

the whole land is brought under the influence of the religion of Jesus Christ.

"The steamer on which I had planned to return home was due on the 4th, but was a fortnight behind her time, during which period I remained in the city of Monrovia, and officiated on several occasions. On the 21st of December I reached Cape Palmas."

THE MAYORALITY OF MONROVIA.

For the third time Hon. C. T. O. King has been elected to the important office of Mayor of Monrovia. The election took place on the 9th January, and Mr. King obtained a large majority over an influential opponent. During his terms of office he introduced important and useful improvements to the satisfaction of the leading citizens. Mr. King is a native of Sierra Leone.—*Sierra Leone Weekly News.*

BISHOP TAYLOR AND LIBERIA.

"Bishop William Taylor, the Missionary hero of the nineteenth century, second only to Livingstone in his daring enterprises for Africa's regeneration, thus represented his work in Liberia and the condition of that Republic, in his Quadrennial Report to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session at New York, May 12:

"The Liberia Conference received me with great cordiality, and the members have ever since, without exception, manifested a loving, filial spirit of co-operation in the work of God. I have presided at each of the four sessions of the quadrennium, and have visited a majority of the circuits and stations. The productive interests of Liberia are fairly prosperous. Within ten miles of Monrovia, up the St. Paul's river, there are ten steam sugar cane crushing mills, and during the past year more than six hundred thousand pounds of coffee have been exported from Monrovia; but the great depreciation of African product values in European markets for several years past, caused 'hard times' on all the west and southwest coast of that Continent. The Liberians live pretty comfortably, and dress well on Sunday, but as a rule have no spare change for church and school purposes. Monrovia Seminary has had put on it \$1,200 worth of repairs, but the work was stopped for want of funds for its completion.

"The following exhibit of statistics of the first and fourth of said Conference sessions will furnish an index to the progress of the work:

	FOR 1884.	FOR 1885.	INCREASE
Number of full members.....	2,314	2,641	327
Number of probationers	189	161	.....
Number of local preachers.....	50	60	10
Total.....	2,553	2,862	337
Number of Sunday-schools.....	29	49	20
Number of officers and teachers.....	263	376	113
Number of scholars.....	2,213	2,342	129
Total.....	2,505	2,767	262
Number of traveling ministers and probationers,	24	26	2
Number of missionaries in the Conference ap- pointed to South Central Africa	6	19	13
Total.....	30	45	15
Number of churches.....	28	38	10
Probable value.....	\$13,957	\$31,044	\$18,087
Number of parsonages.....	2	1	.....
Probable value	\$465	\$150	.....
Paid during year for building and improvements	\$287	\$3,229	2,942
Paid on old indebtedness.....	\$50	\$655	605
Present debts on the whole.....	\$680	\$655	.....
Ministerial support*	\$1,760	\$1,208	.....

"The increase in the membership is 327, with a much greater proportionate increase of faith and holiness, together with a higher standard of public morals in the community at large. For example: The commercial houses of Monrovia six years ago were, as I was credibly informed, all engaged in the importation and sale of intoxicating liquors; but this has been utterly abandoned by all of the half-dozen firms of Liberians, and carried on only by the Dutch and German houses. A leading merchant in Grand Bassa assured me that the rum and gin imported by Liberia during the past year did not amount to one-fourth of the annual importation six years ago. This change was brought about mainly through the agency of our Sister Amanda Smith."

* The small amount of ministerial support reported, and the \$2,500 added to it yearly from the ministerial treasury, can not be considered a support for twenty-six ministers, besides pensions to the widows. How do they manage to live? Those men, with a corps of local preachers in charge of circuits and stations, have the honor of carrying on this work mainly by their own productive industries of various kinds.

THE AMERICAN MINISTER AT LIBERIA.

President Latrobe and the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society having been invited by Secretary Bayard to suggest the "name of a competent and proper man" for appointment as Minister Resident and Consul General of the United States at Liberia, after careful deliberation, presented the name of the Rev. Dr. Joseph C. Price, President of Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., for appointment to that honorable position.

The result is given in the following correspondence between Secretary Bayard and President Price:—

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, February 8, 1888.

"Sir:

"I am instructed by the President to tender you the post of Minister Resident and Consul General of the United States at Liberia.

"It is the object of the President to place the interests of the Afro-Americans in that Republic in charge of an American citizen of African descent who is believed to have at heart the advancement of his people, and to possess qualifications to render them service and do credit to this country.

"Your name has been presented by the American Colonization Society with such favorable recommendations that the President, in the interests of Liberia, as well as the United States, now tenders you the position.

"I await your early reply, and am,

Very respectfully yours,

T. F. BAYARD."

"LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE,

SALISBURY, N. C. March 5, 1888.

"HON. T. F. BAYARD, *Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*:

"DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of the 8th ult., in which you say I am instructed by the President to tender you the post of Minister Resident and Consul General of the United States at Liberia," has been received.

"Please convey to the President, and also accept for yourself, a most profound expression of my grateful appreciation of the distinguished recognition given me by the offer of this 'post' of trust, duty and honor, attended, as it is, with an emolument of some consideration.

"I am also under lasting obligations to the American Coloniza-

tion Society for their kindness in recommending me to the President.

"I appreciate the manifest interest of the President in Liberia, and the necessity and possibilities of the work to be done by our government in and for Africa, as well as in the interest of this country; yet, after careful consideration and consultation with many friends who are interested in the work of Negro education in the South, and especially in the particular work of Livingstone College and Stanford Seminary, in which I am now engaged, I am compelled to decline the appointment.

"My interest, however, in Africa must not be measured by my refusal of this position: for while my work here has for its primary object the education of the Negroes, and the bringing about of a better state of things in the South generally, still it also has in view, as an ultimate object, the enlightenment of Africa and the final redemption of the Dark Continent, which will be greatly advanced by the Christian education and the industrial development of the Negroes in this country.

"I am, yours gratefully,

J. C. PRICE."

President Latrobe and the Executive Committee then suggested to the Secretary of State the name of Rev. Ezekiel Ezra Smith for appointment, and he has been nominated and confirmed as Minister Resident and Consul General of the United States at Liberia. Mr. Smith was born in Duplin County, N. C., May 23, 1832; obtained his entire education at Shaw University, Raleigh, and became Principal of the State Colored Normal School, Fayetteville, N. C., an institution supported by the State for the instruction and training of young men and women of color as teachers for the public schools of North Carolina, in September, 1883. Prof. Smith is a licensed minister of the Baptist Church and an educator of the first rank, zealous and practical in his efforts for the elevation of his race. He is of good personal appearance, dignified in manner, and much esteemed by those who know him. He is recommended as having at heart the elevation of his people.

Minister Smith left New York on the bark "Monrovia" June 2d, for Liberia, accompanied by his wife and son.

THE TWO VOICES.

The *Christian Recorder*, said to "be published by the African Methodist Episcopal Church," in the city of Philadelphia, contained in its issue for March 15th a most remarkable and significant article,

which purports to be a criticism of the sermon delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, January 15th, 1888, by the Rev. J. Aspinwall Hodge, D. D.

We have noticed from time to time attacks in this paper on our work, which have appeared to us altogether uncalled for and gratuitous—notably one in an issue last year on "Mr. Coppinger's Colonization Society." But we have not thought it necessary, hitherto, to notice effusions which seemed written more for amusement than with any earnest purpose. In view, however, of the increasing importance of the African question and the stand which the genuine Negroes are taking in behalf of their Fatherland, we deem it necessary to point out the difference between the aspirations and utterances of the genuine Negro and those of the persons who are allied both to the Negro and the Indian or to the Negro and the white man.

The standpoint of the writer in the *Christian Recorder* is that of a man who is neither white nor black. It would be futile, therefore, to attempt to deal with anything he has to say or to try to convince him from a racial stand point or to appeal to any sentiments of race in him. It is utterly impossible for him to understand or to appreciate Dr. Hodge's views. When Dr Hodge, in speaking of the Negro, says—

"Their continued isolation is no wrong to them. It is the result of loyalty to race. For reasons not clearly understood by us, God has divided men into races, and through all times he has kept these great families distinct. Amalgamation of the three great races is not God's will and has never received any mark of His approbation. Loyalty to race, which holds them apart, is a divinely implanted instinct."

He utters a scientific, philosophical and Christian truth, and echoes the feeling not only of "prejudiced" white men, as the *Recorder* seems to think, but of thousands of unadulterated Negroes whose deeper instincts, as a result of enlarged education and culture, are coming to the surface, and who will express themselves more and more as cultivated white men do on the subject.

The *Recorder* seems grieved because Dr. Hodge does not recognize the fact that in the last two hundred years "more than 2,000,000 of persons have been born, in whom the blood of Washington and Attucks mixed," and "that there are more than a million and a half of mixed bloods in this country." Does the *Recorder* not know that this is a fact in which very few men, even among the colored people themselves, see any ground for exultation or boast? That paper will find that the best, the purest and the highest sentiment of the country, both black and white, is against the blending of the races. A writer on the *Recorder* sometime ago, (January 20, 1887), in a very

outspoken and incisive article, deprecated the existing mixture of the Negro and white as the result of past and present *crime*.

Dr. Haygood, President of Emory College, a well-known and liberal friend of the race, writing not long since of the Glenn Bill said:—

“ It seems to me, as I have often heretofore tried to teach, that the best interests of both races require them to keep their blood pure. There is no hope for either in miscegenation. There is a Georgia law against intermarriage—a law more violated, ten to one, if not in the letter, in the reality and spirit of it, than the law against mixed schools. If now the Legislature will give us a law placing the parents of mulatto children in the chain gang, it would be worth while.”

But if there are seven millions of colored people in this country and five millions and a half are the unadulterated descendants of Africa and only one million and a half mixed, it is, we should say, immodest at least for the latter to attempt to speak for and guide the destiny of the former.

We do not remember ever to have read such an article as the one in question from the hand of a pure Negro, and we do not believe that we ever shall. And we did not need the extended discussion in the *Recorder* to prove to us—and this is all it has done—that while the voice of the Negro, pure and simple, is for Africa, the voice of the man of mixed genealogy is for surrendering his claim to a continent which he holds by a rather imperfect title. In a test of the question we might rely upon a million and a half of votes against Africa, but then we should have five million and a half of votes for it. Men are more ready to give up that to which they have no clear right than they are to surrender undoubted possessions. Every Negro feels in his blood a hereditary right to a vast continent and he is not going to allow himself to be robbed of that feeling by the arguments of those who not only can show no such title but are proud of referring to the fact of their alien condition.

We know that there are thousands in whom the precious admixture does not exist who enjoy a sense of unimpaired proprietorship to and a pride in the land of their fathers *and* their mothers—all ready to go; and they will be cheerfully welcomed by and will easily coalesce with their brethren on the other side. All the genuine Negroes who have stood or now stand head and shoulders above their fellows glory in their full relationship to the millions on the African continent and their joint heirship with them—Henry Highland Garnet, Martin R. Delany, Alexander Crummell, Joseph C. Price, &c.

We gather what the genuine Negro sentiment of the United States is from numerous utterances from the South where the five millions and a half of pure bloods chiefly exist.

The Southwestern Christian Advocate writes as follows on

"AFRICAN EMIGRATION. Shall we go to Africa or not? This is the question as it is not frequently put to the editor of this paper by men who are ready to go again to their fatherland. They want intelligent direction and quiet counsel, such as in most cases colored men are unable to obtain, since among us the most of our public spirited like to be seen and heard in all they do. But Africa; shall Negroes of this country go there? Let the inferior masses remain here wards of America, and if they wish to do so, let them drink up the blood of the various nationalities as a solution of the Negro problem. But our professional men and women, and families of character and money; let any who can do anything to produce something for his neighbor to consume, all sorts of utensils, vehicles and implements, apply every art along with the religion of civilization to that country. What then, shall we go to Africa? Yes, if we are so situated that by going we can do something better for Africa than add to her pauper population."

At the celebration of the thirty-ninth anniversary of Liberia's Independence, which took place at the Exposition Grounds, New Orleans, July 26, 1886, (for the Negroes of the South often recognize that anniversary) Rev. M. C. B. Mason, orator of the day, said:

"Organizations, both religious and secular, and individual enterprises, composed entirely of white men, have labored long and successfully for the civilization and advancement of Africa, and I take this present opportunity, in the name of the 7,000,000 Negroes in this country, to return our sincere and hearty thanks to those organizations who have done so much for the building up and enlightenment of our fatherland, especially the *American Colonization Society*, through whose untiring efforts, amid abuse and slander, Liberia was founded, whose prosperity solves again the vexations problem of the ability of the Negro for self-improvement and self-government."

At a meeting of the people of color at Columbia, S. C., in honor of Emancipation Day, the Colored Orator, Rev. Dr. J. C. Price, in eloquent and impressive terms advocated the very doctrine of which the American Colonization Society has been so long, almost the sole exponent and defender.

"Columbia, S. C., January 3. The colored people of this city and the surrounding country to-day had a grand celebration of Emancipation Day. The orator of the day was Prof. J. C. Price, colored. He took for his subject, 'The American Negro, His Future and His Peculiar Work.' His advice to his race was to pay less attention to the past and look to the glorious future. He said the Negroes had the mind and ability; all they needed was confidence. The Negro could do what any other man could. He was opposed to amalgamation, and he did not believe in it. The peculiar work of the American Negro was the redemption of their race in Africa, which was their own country. If the white man could find gold, diamonds, and other riches in Africa, why not the Negro? It was the duty of the American Negro to go to Africa and reclaim their country, civilize the Negroes there, give them manual and intellectual education, and show them the way to build up the country. The speaker was a well-educated man."

It cannot be a question whether the Society should be guided by the ideas of five millions and a half who have undoubted claims to Africa or by the million and a half with rather shadowy pretensions. The scheme of the latter—as far as they have any scheme—for solving the

race problem in this country is not only entirely impracticable, but it is further discredited by the fact that the genuine Negro of culture is quite as much opposed to it as the white man. An amalgamation which would not be morally criminal must be by the consent of the two races.

The *Recorder* says:

"The Society in 71 years has returned to Africa 16,022 Negroes, so-called, though of course many of these persons included *were not Negroes*."

That may be so. They called themselves Negroes and wished to be considered Negroes. Perhaps we should accept the testimony of the *Recorder* that they were not: though the Liberians, one and all, have grown into sufficient manhood to be proud of the term.

Speaking of those who go to Africa, the *Recorder* assures us that

"They choose Africa as the excruciating sufferer chooses death, or the man condemned to be hanged chooses the penitentiary."

This is strong language, but from what we have seen above it must apply wholly to the persons "in whom the blood of Washington and Attucks mixed." We are quite sure that the genuine Negro will resent as a gross slander such an insinuation. He feels that he has a hereditary right to a great continent and an affinity in color and blood to two hundred millions of people on that continent. All the instincts of his nature point him thither, and he will not allow himself to be deceived and diverted by those who feel that their natural claims have been washed out by the infusion, of foreign blood—that they have been denationalized by a duplicate or triplicate genealogy.

This whole subject recalls to our mind an article on Liberia written a few months ago by a serious but friendly critic of the Society's work, (*Chicago Interior*, Dec. 8, 1887), from which we take the following:

"Undoubtedly mistakes have been made in the founding and nurturing of the free state on the west coast of Africa, known as Liberia, and just as undoubtedly some of those mistakes were unavoidable as the result of the want of a warning and guiding experience. No one will venture to deny that sufficient money and labor have been expended upon Liberia to make it a far more prosperous and independent State than it is. It was founded and first settled in 1822. Its first immigrants were Negroes, and by this word we do not mean mulattoes, for while he has Negro blood in his veins the mulatto is not a Negro. These Negroes and early colonists did an efficient and useful work in the matter of laying foundations. They would, we believe, have done a more useful work had they been allowed to erect the superstructure. Just here the Colonization Society seems to have been led, and very naturally, into the belief that a mulatto, or an octoroon, was a Negro and could do a Negro's work in Africa, and to have acted upon that belief. It sent out these men, whom their fathers sometimes wished to have out of sight. These octoroos and mulattoes had some education, were furnished with money, and so, on their arrival in Liberia, they superseded the foundation-layers to a large extent, and either erected superstructures which proved unsatisfactory or erected none at all.

Liberia has languished and retrograded as a result. It has, therefore, become manifest that pure Negroes only can, as a rule, be relied upon for efficient missionary service in Africa, because though some have done efficient service, the climate is unfriendly generally to those who are called Negroes but are not. It has given us no pleasure to say these things. They have been spoken solely from an earnest hope that the evident necessity for sustaining Liberia as a center for missionary and colonizing labors largely by Negroes—we do not mean half-breeds—will be so impressed upon the Christian people of the United States that, profiting by past errors, which are certainly excusable, they may hasten to make Liberia the efficient agency, which it can easily be made, for the complete regeneration of Africa. For us there is no other really available starting point for the Christianization of that continent."

The New York *Independent*, Dec 15, 1887, alluding apparently to the *Interior's* article, said: "Do not force the half-Negro, nor the quadroon, nor the octoroon, into or out of the society of the Negro."

It would appear from the above that it is not the feeling of every white friend of Africa that the colored people should emigrate to that continent indiscriminately. The *Interior* would eliminate from the enterprise the "persons in whom the blood of Washington and At-tucks mixed," as being unsuitable for it. If this theory prevails the writer in the *Recorder* and his friends will be delivered from the apprehension, which seems to haunt them, that they will even be invited to go to a country so repellent to them that they would "choose it as the excruciating sufferer chooses death, or the man condemned to be hanged chooses the penitentiary."

The field of the Society's labors is large enough to give it abundance of work to do without coming in contact with the "million and a half," "half a million of whom are as white as Dr. Hodge himself."

The editor of the *Recorder* must not suppose that this question, even in those aspects of it that affect him most keenly, has escaped the attention of earnest thinkers among blacks and whites. The genuine Negro in the South is beginning to feel that he is a distinct man, with distinct powers and susceptibilities, and a distinct destiny before him, and he is demanding and claiming as his leaders only those, like himself, who have an unimpaired connection with Africa. The March number of the *Church at Home and Abroad*, the official organ of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, contains an important letter on this subject by Rev. H. N. Payne, Field Secretary of the Freedmen's Board, from which we take the following:

"RACE PRIDE. The last place in which most men would expect to find a development of race pride would be among the colored people of America. So long have they been not only oppressed, but despised, so long have they been thought not only weak but an inferior race, that it will surprise many to be told that there is among this remarkable people a growing feeling of satisfaction and pride in the things that distinguish them from others, so that the blacker a man's skin is, the more he is entitled to the confidence and honor of his race. Yet such is the fact

The feeling is so weak in some places as scarcely to be discernible; it is so young in others as not yet to have had recognition; but its existence is beyond question and it is rapidly increasing in strength. It must hereafter be regarded as one of the factors in that interesting and intricate problem, the relation of the American Negro to the church, the country and the world.

* * * * *

"At the same time that the Negro feels himself possessed of all the potentialities of the noblest manhood, he knows of certain things that differentiate him from the white man. Not only does he differ from him in history and present condition, but in mental and physical structure. He is a distinct race, and no amount of education or of contact can make the two races one. I once heard a colored man say in a public assembly, "No white man ever did or ever can understand a Negro." I do not share this opinion, but it shows the consciousness on the part of intelligent Negroes, of real differences between themselves and their white friends. This consciousness tends to draw them together; tends to the development of race feeling; and, with their advance in power, tends to the development of race pride."

Such statements can never apply to the "Washington and Attucks" man, nor can he even understand them. He feels himself a part and parcel of the white man. The editor of the *Recorder*, a mixed man, says:

"Loyalty to Africa, patriotic loyalty, in the heart of the American Negro is almost unnatural." Rev. Dr. J. C. Price, a genuine Negro says: "The peculiar work of the American Negro is the redemption of their race in Africa, which is their own country. It is the duty of the American Negro to go to Africa and reclaim that country."

The two voices are here as different and distinct as the colors of those who uttered them. Frederick Douglass once said: "I thank God for making me a man simply: but Delany always thanks Him for making him a "*black* man." It is upon this consciousness of a special manhood, this pride of race, this LOVE for Africa in the genuine Negro, that the American Colonization Society has based its labors and hopes for Africa; and trusting to the unfailing loyalty of that class of colored people it will never be disappointed. And it is becoming more and more apparent to both black and white that no man is entitled to enjoy the confidence of the race, or to share in the sympathy and assistance accorded to the race, who is unable to participate in the feeling or unworthy to share in the duties, responsibilities and inconveniences of the race.

But we do not believe that the *Recorder* represents the feelings of the more earnest thinkers even of the mixed element on this subject. Some of the most enthusiastic and glowing utterances about Africa we ever heard came from men who are not pure Negroes. No one has spoken more eloquently and more touchingly on the subject than Bishop Turner, whom the Society numbers among its Vice Presidents—an honor which the *Recorder* would like to see the Bish-

op lay aside. But no one knows better than that distinguished man that the doctrines on Africa, which are considered heresy to-day will be orthodoxy to-morrow. In one the finest orations which Bishop Turner ever delivered, on the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, he said—

"I know some colored men chafe when they hear an expression about going to Africa. I am sorry that I find no term in the vocabulary that will represent them milder than fools; for they are fools. The only reason why Africa is unpopular and ignored by some colored men is because of its unpopularity among the whites. It is the greatest country in natural resources under heaven. But without reviewing its inexhaustible treasures, and how God is holding them in custody for the civilization of the Negro, I merely desire to remark that some of our leading men may blur and slur at Africa tell their doomsday arrives. But God intends for us to carry and spread enlightenment and civilization over the land. *They are ours and we are theirs.* Religion, morality, economy, policy, utility, expediency, duty and every other consideration makes it our duty. *We must, we shall, we will, we ought to do it.*"

Professor Greener has said :

"The Negro will not only migrate, he will also emigrate. He will become more and more interested in the capabilities of his Fatherland. From the United States the stream of civilization will inevitably lead to Africa. The rich table lands east of Liberia will be occupied first, and we may look for many radiating currents therefrom. It would be poetic justice to see a Negro-American civilization redeeming Africa. *The antipathy formerly felt by the Negro-American to Colonization has passed away.* He now sees clearly that to civilize Africa is to exalt the Negro race."

Dr. Blyden, in his lecture before the Union Bethel Literary Association in this city, January, 1883, speaking of Professor Greener's devotion to the cause of the Negro, said :

"The Negro and his brother of mixed blood, no matter how slight the tinge of Africa which darkens the face of the latter, are counted as one in the political and social regulations of the United States. For good or evil—let us hope for good—the destinies of the two classes are indissolubly united in this land. And it will be for good, if all who come to the front as leaders would feel and exhibit the same loyalty and devotion to the race as a whole, that have so honorably distinguished the career of Professor Greener; and which on the other side of the water—in the great Fatherland—are so highly appreciated."

The American Colonization Society will continue to prosecute its work, which we must either accept as philanthropic and genuine, or we must believe in the utter fatuity or depravity of some of the best and greatest men who have ever trodden or now tread the American Continent. The Society was established to "aid the colonization of Africa by voluntary colored emigrants from the United States." The warning now given by the *Recorder* will cause greater care to be exercised in selecting from among the numerous applicants for patronage—to see that none shall avail themselves of our aid to get to Africa.

who are seeking that country "as the man condemned to be hanged chooses the penitentiary, or as the excruciating sufferer choose death."

LIBERIA CONFERENCE APPOINTMENTS, 1888.

BISHOP TAYLOR PRESIDING.

MONROVIA DISTRICT—*C. A. Pitman, P. E.* Monrovia Station, D. Ware. New Georgia, J. W. Carley. Robertsport and Talla, A. H. Watson. Johnsonville, to be supplied. Gheerong, to be supplied. Paynesville, C. A. Pitman. Marshall, to be supplied.

ST. PAUL'S RIVER DISTRICT—*W. T. Hagan, P. E.* Upper and Lower Caldwell, H. B. Capeheart, L. D. Scott. Virginia Circuit, to be supplied. Brewerville, F. C. Holderness. Clay—Ashland Circuit, J. W. Cooper. Mills-Burg, to be supplied. G. W. Parker, supply; W. P. Kennedy, supply. Robertsport, A. L. Sims. Arthington, C. B. McLain. Carysburg and Bensonville, T. A. Sims, J. E. Clark. Brown Station, R. Boyce.

BASSA DISTRICT—*J. H. Deputie, P. E.* Paynesburg Circuit, E. L. Brumskine. Upper Buchanan, to be supplied. Lower Buchanan to be supplied. Carterstown and Gibbon, to be supplied. Edina, to be supplied. Bullemtown, to be supplied. Mt. Olive, J. H. Duputie. J. P. Artis, supply. Bexley Circuit, to be supplied.

SINOE DISTRICT—*W. P. Kennedy, P. E.* Greenville and Lexington, W. P. Kennedy, P. E. Walker. Sinoe Mission, J. W. Draper. Gibbestown, J. W. Bonner. Louisiana, to be supplied. Settra Kroo (Bishop Taylor's Mission) B. J. Turner.

CAPE PALMAS DISTRICT—*J. H. Deputie, P. E.* Mount Scott and Tubmantown, to be supplied.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION FOR LIBERIA.

An intelligent and industrious class of people composed the company of emigrants sent by the American Colonization Society, by bark Monrovia, from New York, June 2, for Sinoe, Liberia. Of these, one was from Washington, D. C., one from Afton, Va., nineteen from Gainesville, eight from Rochelle and one from Ocala, Florida, and nine from Sturgis, Mississippi. Twenty-one are twelve years of age and upwards, thirteen are between twelve and two, and five are less than two years old. Eight were reported as communicants in Baptist, five in Methodist and one in Episcopal Churches. Of the adult males one is an ordained Minister of the Gospel, one a Physician, two are carpenters and six are farmers. They go accompanied by the means to ensure success in Africa.

ROLL OF EMIGRANTS FOR SINOE, LIBERIA.

By Bark "Monrovia," from New York, June 2, 1888.

No.	Name.	Age.	OCCUPATION.	RELIGION.
<i>From Washington, D. C.</i>				
1	Alfred L. Wykham,.....	30	Physician.....	Episcopal....
<i>From Afton, Nelson Co., Va.</i>				
2	William Schofield,.....	22	Minister.....	Baptist.
<i>From Sturgis, Oktibbeha Co., Miss.</i>				
3	Isham Quinn.....	32	Farmer.....	Baptist.....
4	Jane Quinn.....	29	.....	Baptist.....
5	Ida Quinn.....	11	.....	.....
6	Philip Quinn.....	9	.....	.....
7	Fanny Quinn.....	7	.....	.....
8	Dony Quinn.....	6	.....	.....
9	Liny Quinn.....	4	.....	.....
10	Catharine Quinn.....	2	.....	.....
11	Electa Quinn.....	Infant.	.....	.....
<i>From Gainesville, Alachua Co., Florida.</i>				
12	Jacob Gildersleeve.....	60	Carpenter.....	Baptist.....
13	Penny Gildersleeve.....	50	.....	Baptist.....
14	Americus Gildersleeve.....	21	Farmer.....	.....
15	Lucretia Gildersleeve.....	17	.....	.....
16	James Gildersleeve.....	15	.....	.....
17	Brazillia Gildersleeve.....	13	.....	.....
18	Sallie Gildersleeve.....	10	.....	.....
19	Julia Major	28	.....	.....
20	Macey Berry.....	6	.....	.....
21	Claudius Major.....	Infant.	.....	.....
22	John Payne.....	40	Farmer.....	Baptist.....
23	Frank Whittaker.....	45	Farmer.....	Methodist....
24	Addie Whittaker.....	38	.....	Methodist....
25	Edward Whittaker.....	14	.....	.....
26	Lilla Whittaker.....	13	.....	.....
27	Ophelia Whittaker.....	9	.....	.....
28	Jesse Whittaker.....	24	Carpenter.....	Methodist....
29	Susie Whittaker.....	20	.....	Methodist....
30	Jesse Whittaker, Jr.....	Infant.	.....	.....
<i>From Rochelle, Alachua Co., Florida.</i>				
31	John E. Jones.....	32	Farmer.....	Baptist.....
32	Lucy Jones.....	25	.....	Baptist.....
33	Samuel W. Jones.....	8	.....	.....
34	Hosea Jones.....	6	.....	.....
35	Jessie A. Jones.....	4	.....	.....
36	Noah W. Jones.....	3	.....	.....
37	Asa Jones.....	1	.....	.....
38	Anna Jones.....	Infant.	.....	.....
<i>From Ocala, Citrus Co., Florida.</i>				
39	Everson M. Walker.....	24	Farmer.....	Methodist....

NOTE.—The foregoing named persons make a total of 16,057 emigrants settled in Liberia by the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

[July, 1883.]

EMANCIPATION IN BRAZIL.

Now comes Brazil, a country as large as the United States and with one-fourth of her population, and abolishes slavery, utterly and absolutely. This is a great step in the march of civilization; for her labor must not only be free, but intelligent, to handle the means by which the vast resources of this empire can be utilized. Ignorant slave-labor would do for the day of rude implements, and was perhaps indispensable when human muscle was the chief motive power, but in this day it is both inadequate and dangerous. When laboring men become intelligent enough to run engines, printing presses, telegraphs and steamships, they also become intelligent enough to run their own social and political machinery, and can no longer be kept in bondage.

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

During the Month of March, 1888.

MAINE. (\$5.00)		CANADA (\$5.00)	
Bangor.	Dr. T. U. Coe. . . .	5.00	Toronto. J. Enoch Thompson. . . .
PENNSYLVANIA. (\$1201.49.)		RECAPITULATION.	
Philadelphia. Legacy of Mary			
Rebecca Darby Smith.	1201.49	Donations.....	10.00
FLORIDA. (\$5.00)		Legacy	1201.49
Crystal River. E. M Walker, toward cost of passage to Liberia	5.00	Applicants toward passage	16.25
MISSISSIPPI. (\$11.25.)		Rent of Colonization Building...	154.00
Bradley. Isham Quinn, toward cost of passage to Liberia.	11.25	Interest for Schools in Liberia...	90.00
		Total Receipts in March . .	\$1471.74

During the Month of April, 1888.

CONNECTICUT. (\$10.00.)		FOR REPOSITORY. (\$1.00.)
<i>Greenwich.</i> Thos. A. Mead, Esq.	10.00	Missouri
NORTH CAROLINA. (\$4.00.)		1.00
<i>Hebron.</i> T. B. McFadden, toward cost of passage to Liberia	4.00	RECAPITULATION.
KANSAS. (\$24.00.)		
<i>Wichita.</i> Mitchell Grines and William Kelly, toward cost of passage to Liberia	24.00	Donation
		10.00
		For African Repository
		1.00
		Applicants toward passage
		25.00
		Rent of Colonization Building
		108.00
		Interest
		322.25
		Total Receipts in April.
		\$469.25

During the Month of May, 1888.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. (\$20.00)		FOR REPOSITORY. (\$1.00.)	
"From New Hampshire"	20.00	Tennessee.....	1.00
GEORGIA. (\$10.00.)			
Rome. Miss Mary Vance... . . .	10.00		
FLORIDA. (\$10.00.)		RECAPITULATION.	
McAlpin. Peter Graham, to- ward cost of passage to Liberia	10.00	Donations	30.00
KANSAS. (\$40.00.)		For African Repository.....	1.00
Pars. ns. Nathan Davis and oth- ers, toward cost of passage to Liberia,.....	40.00	Applicants toward passage	50.00
		Rent of Colonization Building...	74.00
		Interest	178.64
		Total Receipts in May	\$333.64

For use in Library only

I-7 v.63/65
African Repository

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



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